

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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MAY 29, 1944

Compromise Is Sought Over Polish Question

Attempt Made to Open Negotiations with Soviet Union

During the last few days there have been signs—many of them not very clear but straws in the wind nevertheless—that progress is being made toward ironing out the difficulties which exist between Soviet Russia and Poland. On the diplomatic front, these unfriendly relations constitute one of the most dangerous spots. Not only are they a hindrance to military achievement, but they cast an ominous cloud over the future peace of the world. For if two members of the United Nations, both fighting a common enemy, cannot come to terms under the stress of war, the prospects of their living together as friendly neighbors after the war are remote.

The Polish question is one on which opinion throughout the world is as sharply divided as on any single international issue of the moment. A satisfactory settlement has been made more difficult by the extreme partisanship displayed by both sides. The millions of Poles living in the United States are divided on the issue. Some of them have taken the position that the Polish border in the east must be restored as it existed in 1939, before the outbreak of the war. Others support a compromise which would permit adjustment in Russia's favor in the interest of establishing permanent friendly relations with the Soviet Union and of promoting international security in Europe after the war.

Seeking a Formula

One of the principal objectives of Allied diplomacy during the last year has been to find a formula for settling the dispute between Poland and Russia. The task has been extremely difficult because, officially, the two countries are not on speaking terms. A little more than a year ago, on April 25, 1943, the Soviet government severed diplomatic relations with the Polish government-in-exile, which is located in London, and all attempts so far to reestablish direct relations have failed.

The rupture of diplomatic relations between the two governments was but the climax to a long series of incidents. The immediate cause of the breach is unimportant now, but the basic conflict is of vital importance, for unless it can be resolved the future peace of eastern Europe will be seriously menaced. The entire conflict revolves around two issues—the eastern boundary of Poland and the membership of the Polish government-in-exile.

As in every other boundary dispute in history, both sides in this instance marshal volumes of historical, social, and ethnographical data to bolster their claims. The essential facts relating to the disputed region in this case are discussed on page 3 of this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. The Poles wish to regain the territory in the east which was theirs before the war and which Russia occupied a few weeks after the outbreak of war. The Russians have let it be understood that they will accept no such settlement but will insist upon a boundary which follows closely the Curzon Line or the line of demarcation fixed by Germany and Russia at the time of the Russian occupation of eastern Poland prior to the outbreak of World War II.

It has been suggested by Russian officials, as well as by influential sections of Polish opinion, that Poland's loss of territory in the east might be compensated for by adjustments in the west. In other words, Poland's western boundary would be shifted in such a way as to include territory which belonged to Germany before the war. Stalin himself is clearly on record as favoring a strong and independent Poland after the war. He may well favor this solution of the problem.

It has been argued that such an adjustment of Poland's western frontier would remove one of the

(Concluded on page 2)



The West looks to the future—a reclamation project near Boise, Idaho

BUREAU OF RECLAMATION

Western States Look Ahead

Missouri Valley Plan Points to Postwar Development

THE news that a vast water-control system is being proposed for a part of the West has stirred fresh visions of the future growth and progress that may be in store for the states between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean.

The development, which was outlined this month by the Department of Interior's Bureau of Reclamation, would center around the Missouri River Valley. Costing about one billion dollars, it would require the building of 90 reservoirs, 17 power plants, and a network of irrigation systems.

The project would bring direct advantages to the states of Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado. For it would harness the waters of the Missouri River and its many tributaries, providing protection against floods in the wet seasons and storing up water for irrigation and navigation in the dry seasons.

There would be enough water to serve more than 100 irrigation projects, and these would eventually be the means of bringing more than 4,000,000 acres of "new" land into cultivation. Hundreds of new farms could come into being, and their production would support not only the families living on them but would also bring economic advantages to surrounding towns and cities.

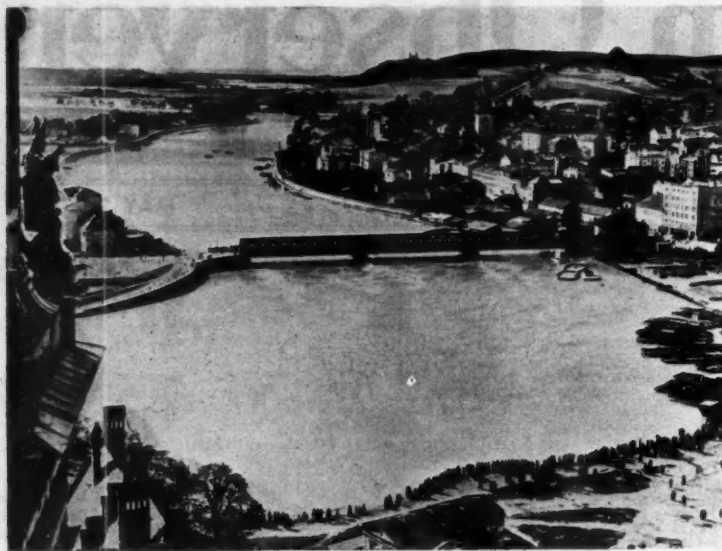
Agricultural products would go to market by way of these communities, and food-processing plants that might be erected would provide increased employment. The farmers themselves, of course, would go to the same towns to buy their implements, cars, and other manufactured products.

This suggested development for the Missouri Valley, however, is only one of the many prospects which are encouraging the entire West to be optimistic about its postwar future. It is pinning great hopes on what it already possesses—on its proved agricultural, forest, and mineral wealth, and on the industrial strength which it has gained as a result of the war.

The industrial gains have inspired glowing plans for a new and greater West. For decades it has been a storehouse of raw materials, but at the same time it has been industrially weak. Western resources traveled to the factories of the East, where they were turned into manufactured products. The people and stores of the West were thus supplied by Eastern industries.

Part of this was inevitable, and will never be changed. The East has the heavy concentrations of population which are necessary to operate big

(Concluded on page 7)



Warsaw—capital of Poland

Polish-Russian Dispute

(Concluded from page 1)

principal causes of friction between Germany and Poland between the world wars and the immediate cause of the Second World War; that is, the Polish Corridor. Presumably such a redrawing of the boundary in the west would incorporate East Prussia into Poland. That German province on the Baltic Sea, home of the Teutonic Knights, was separated from the rest of Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. In order to give Poland an outlet to the sea, a wedge was driven between the main body of Germany and East Prussia. This wedge, or Polish Corridor, was literally a thorn in the side of the Germans for 20 years. When Hitler could not remove the thorn by threats against the Poles, he unloosed his armies in September 1939.

In arguing for the incorporation of East Prussia into postwar Poland, it is freely admitted that this is indisputably German territory, from the standpoint of the racial composition of the population. The backbone of the German army, many of Germany's industrial leaders, many of the powerful landowners have come from East Prussia. It is argued that by giving this province to Poland, the Allies would be striking a deadly blow at German militarism and at the most dangerous elements in the German population—at those who might seek at some future time to spread German power.

Polish Corridor

Such a solution would indeed give Poland secure access to the sea and remove the troublesome question of the Polish Corridor. But it might also create serious problems for the future unless provision were made to prevent a strong German minority within Poland from stirring up trouble. It has been suggested that the only way this danger can be eliminated would be to transfer the German population from within the boundaries of the new state or to make it perfectly clear to those who remained that they would be Polish subjects, with the same privileges as other citizens, but no more.

Thus the settlement of Poland's future boundaries is a question of major concern to all the Allies. Whether England and the United States will be willing to accept the Russian solution, as outlined above, is not clear. Neither the United States nor England is committed to the restoration of the 1939 boundary in the east. What the two

countries are working for now is a settlement by negotiation between the Polish and Russian governments and not a settlement imposed by the Russians alone.

Government-in-Exile

That is why the reestablishment of friendly relations between the Soviet government and the Polish government-in-exile is of the greatest importance. This government, located in London, is composed of men who, by one means or another, escaped from Poland at the time of the German occupation. The president of the government-in-exile is Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz. The Polish cabinet is composed of representatives of several political parties in Poland. The premier is Stanislaw Mikolajczyk. In addition to the president and cabinet there is in London the Polish National Council, composed of 31 members. This Council acts as a sort of parliament, although its members are appointed, not elected. In fact, it is an advisory body to the cabinet.

Relations between the Russian government and the government-in-exile have not always been strained. For a period following the German invasion of Russia the two governments co-operated in waging war against Germany. On July 30, 1941, the two governments signed a treaty which ended the war between them and joined them in a military alliance. It was agreed that a Polish army should be established and trained in Russia, to fight alongside the Red Army. The agree-

ment was silent on the question of Poland's postwar boundaries. It appeared that the basis of understanding and cooperation had been established between the two countries.

There are a number of reasons why the honeymoon was short-lived. For one thing, the Polish army which was to be raised and trained did not join the Red Army on the German-Russian front. There were explanations and delays, and finally most of the Polish forces were evacuated to Iran. However, a number remained behind and formed the Kosciuszko Division, which has been fighting with the Russians on the eastern front.

The principal cause of discord between the two governments, however, came to the surface shortly after the signing of the agreement of July 1941. Three members of the cabinet resigned in protest because they felt that the agreement should have settled the question of the eastern boundary. Opposition to the treaty was particularly strong among the members of the Polish National Council. The Council continued the agitation for restoration of the 1939 frontier and passed a resolution formally laying claim not only to the disputed territories in the east, but also to German territories in the west.

Relations went from bad to worse. Tempers rose. Recriminations were hurled at the Soviet government by the government-in-exile and by the Polish press throughout the world. The Russians countered with recriminations of their own. The Soviet press was unrestrained in its language against the Poles. Finally, diplomatic relations were severed in April of last year.

Union of Polish Patriots

Meanwhile, the Russians supported the setting up in Russia of an organization called the Union of Polish Patriots. This was a political group composed of Polish Communists and of other Poles residing in Russia who were opposed to the policies of the government-in-exile in London. It issued a "Declaration of Principles" which called for the union of all Poles in Russia for the fight against Hitlerism. It demanded the creation of a democratic and parliamentary government in Poland after the war, the tightening of the bonds of friendship between Poland and Russia, "our only

natural ally." The Union favored the adjustment of the eastern frontier, the incorporation of East Prussia and other prewar German territories into Poland.

Although Stalin has given the Union of Polish Patriots strong support, he has not yet recognized this group as the official government of Poland, which revives hope that agreement can be reached with the government-in-exile. It should be emphasized that Moscow does not oppose this government as a whole. It strongly opposes certain members of the London group, who are strongly opposed to the Russians. The Russians' opposition stems from the fear that these anti-Russian members of the government-in-exile may seek after the war to line up the nations of eastern Europe, perhaps including Germany, against Russia.

Compromise Needed

There are indications now that certain of the more objectionable members of the government-in-exile may be removed. A few days ago, the Polish National Council in London unanimously voted to strip General Kazimierz Sosnkowski, commander-in-chief of the Polish armies, of his political powers. Sosnkowski is one of the more violent opponents of the Soviet Union. The Council is said to be prepared to recommend the ousting of other objectionable members.

If such action is taken, if the government-in-exile is reorganized in such a way as to eliminate the anti-Russian elements, it is possible that the basis of an understanding between the two countries will be established.

The Polish question needs an early settlement if the foundations of a lasting peace are to be established. Compromise will be necessary on both sides. And both the Poles and the Russians have much to gain by a compromise settlement. As Walter Lippmann points out in a recent column in the *Washington Post*:

The Soviet union needs, indeed cannot get along without, a strong, independent, and friendly Poland. Anything less than that will render abortive a lasting settlement in Europe and will turn the whole region west of the Soviet frontiers into a seething, envenomed threat to the security of Russia.

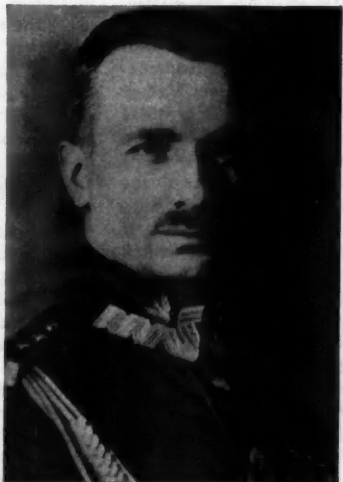
Poland needs, otherwise she cannot hope to survive as an independent state, to become allied with the Soviet Union and with all her eastern neighbors. There is no future for a Poland governed, or even influenced by those Poles who, even before they are liberated from the Nazis, conceive themselves as the spearpoint of a hostile coalition against the Soviet Union. That there are Poles in places of authority who take this view, no one who is informed about the facts can possibly deny.

A Polish-Soviet agreement is obtainable if the Moscow government will make its first consideration the need for a truly friendly nation, if the Polish government in London will make itself capable of being the honest ally of the Soviet Union.

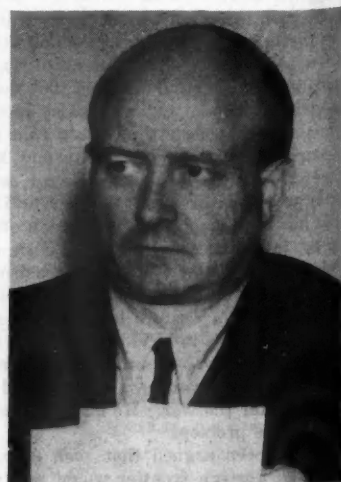


APRE

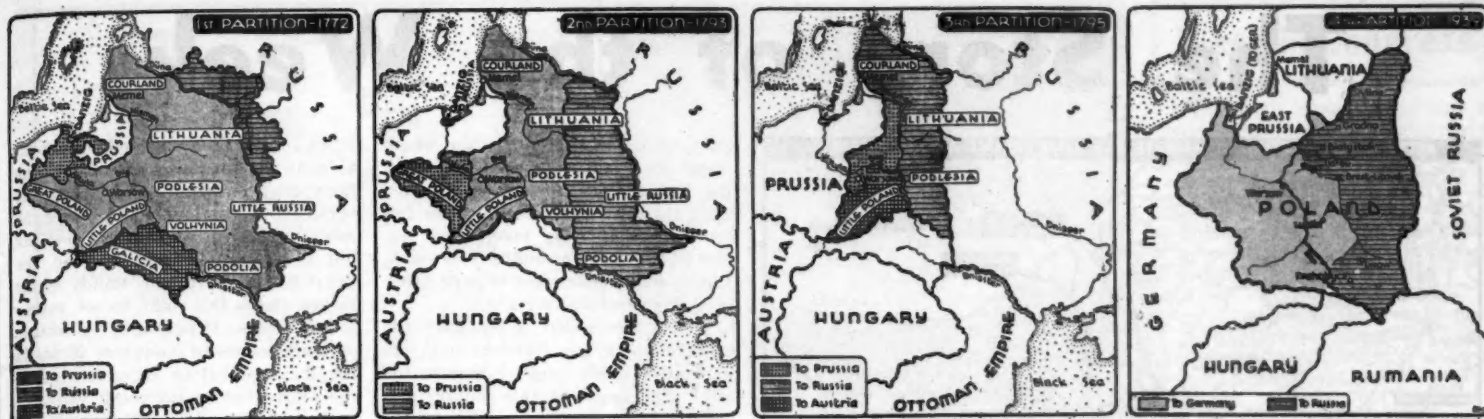
Key figures in Polish dispute: Premier Stalin refuses to deal with the Polish government-in-exile in London, headed by Premier Mikolajczyk (right), so long as certain anti-Russian Poles are members of that government. Most objectionable to the Russians is General Kazimierz Sosnkowski, commander-in-chief of the Polish armies. The Polish National Council recently voted to strip General Sosnkowski of his political powers and is expected to take similar action in the case of other anti-Russian figures. Diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Polish Government-in-exile were severed April 25, 1943.



P. A. INC.



APRE



Background of the Polish Problem

WHEN the war in Europe is over, and the time comes to write the peace, we shall know whether we have won by what happens to Poland. Whoever first made this comment was speaking from wisdom, for the Polish problem is unquestionably one of the most difficult and troublesome which the United Nations have to face. The Allies failed dismally in their effort to solve it after the last war, and it provided Hitler with the excuse he needed to start World War II. If a World War III should ever begin in Europe, a dispute over Poland will in all likelihood be involved.

There has always been a Polish question. From the day that a group of Slavic people who became known as Poles settled in the valley of the Vistula, there has been almost unending trouble over the problem of Poland's frontiers. The Polish realm has grown and contracted, appeared on the map of Europe and disappeared from it, in variance with the changing balance of power on the continent. The reason for this is rooted in geography.

Probably no nation in the world occupies a more unenviable geographic position than Poland. The land on which the Polish people live is flat country without natural boundaries—mountains, great rivers, or seas—either on the east or on the west. But on both east and west Poland has powerful neighbors in the Russians and the Germans. Poland, moreover, has an interior location and is connected with the sea only by a narrow and politically dangerous corridor.

With these factors dominating her life, the history of Poland has been a story of struggle to establish and maintain satisfactory boundaries. Time and again these boundaries have been pushed back and forth over the unprotected territory on which fate has placed Poland.

Polish Aims

It has been the persistent aim of Poland to extend her boundaries as far as possible in order to strengthen her position against that of her neighbors. This policy was most successful during the Middle Ages when Poland and Lithuania were united against their common enemy, the Teutonic Knights. The land of Poland then stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea, including the present-day Baltic states, East Prussia, and large parts of White Russia and the Ukraine. For the next few centuries Poland was one of the great powers of Europe.

But gradually the power of Poland declined. A succession of weak kings, and conflicts among the nobles, exposed her to attacks by her neighbors. In 1772 Russia, Prussia, and Austria

joined hands to attack Poland. The result was loss of Polish-ruled land to all three in what became known as the First Partition of Poland. This was followed by two other partitions, in 1793 and 1795—the last one finishing off Poland as a nation on the map of Europe.

The Poles, however, were a tough people and while they could be swallowed they refused to be digested. Although submerged for over a century they maintained their culture and language, holding together until World War I brought a rebirth of freedom.

The reestablishment of Poland was one of the important problems before the Versailles Peace Conference. In tackling the problem the delegates to the conference sought to follow the principle laid down in President Wilson's Fourteen Points: "An independent Polish state shall be erected, which shall include all territory with an in-

of a bad situation. In order to give Poland an outlet to the sea, they revived the ancient Polish Corridor—which, it must be emphasized, was also heavily inhabited by Poles. The separation of Germany and East Prussia made necessary by this drawing of boundaries was recognized as unfortunate and possibly dangerous, but no other solution impressed itself as being acceptable.

Poland's western frontiers roughly followed the division between Poles and Germans, the exact line through Silesia being left to a later plebiscite—which caused that territory to be divided to the dissatisfaction of both Poles and Germans.

On the east the conferees encountered even greater difficulty in adhering to the ethnographic principle, for here the Poles were even more mixed with White Russians, Ukrainians, and other Slavic peoples. After much

moved in from the east to reclaim part of her losses in World War I. This brought the fourth partition of Poland, and again removed the Polish nation from the map of Europe. As divided between Germany and Russia, the new Russian boundary was extended in northern and southern Poland somewhat farther than the Curzon Line. But now that this settlement has been abrogated by the German-Russian conflict, Russia suggests the Curzon Line as the basis for negotiating a new Russo-Polish border. (The current difficulties between Russia and Poland over this and other problems are treated elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.)

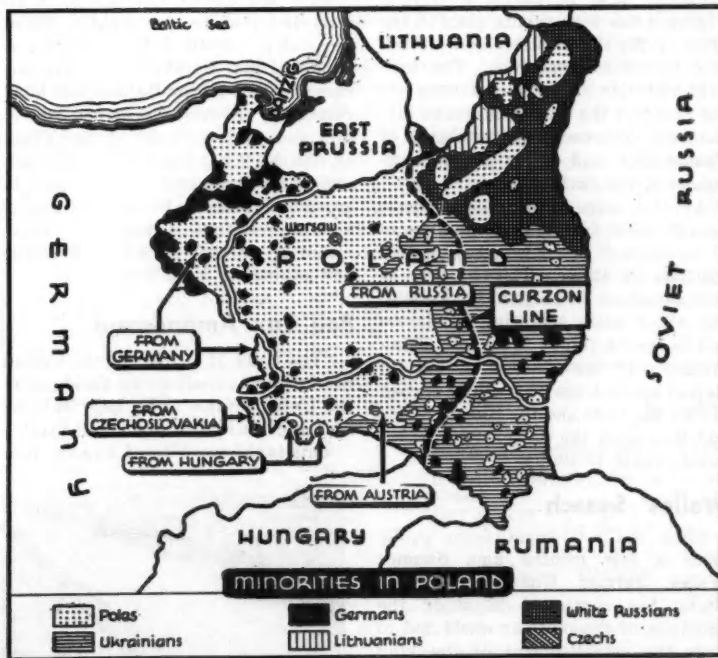
If and when negotiations are begun, the familiar ethnic problems will reappear but in even more difficult form because there has been a great shifting of population in Poland during this war. Before the war it was estimated that in the part of Poland claimed by Russia there lived 5,274,000 Poles, 4,529,000 Ukrainians, 1,123,000 White Russians, 1,109,000 Jews, and a number of smaller groups. As the map shows, there are areas which are preponderantly Russian and areas which are preponderantly Polish. How to disentangle the two is a difficult problem.

A Solution?

What the situation will be after the war it is impossible to say. The effect of Germany's systematic policy of destroying and uprooting civilian populations in occupied countries will have to be measured. The ravages of war itself will have had a pronounced influence on the distribution of populations. Prewar figures will hardly be useful in deciding European boundary problems if an attempt is to be made to follow ethnographic divisions.

It is possible, however, that military and political considerations will outweigh the ethnic in the postwar settlement. Thus, East Prussia may be given to Poland, even though it is more German than Polish, as a means of avoiding another Polish Corridor. On the east the Curzon Line may be followed in general in order to give the Soviet Union the security it insists upon having.

In order to solve the new problems of minorities which will be created—Germans in Poland, Poles in Russia, Russians in Poland, for example—serious consideration may be given to the feasibility of mass migrations of population. The exchange of populations was carried out successfully between Greece and Turkey after World War I, and the migrations of peoples has been forced on a large scale by the Germans in this war.



Minority groups in Poland

disputably Polish population, to which a free and safe access to the sea shall be given, and whose economic and territorial integrity will be assured by international treaties."

The attempt to devise sound ethnic frontiers brought up many difficulties, for Poles and non-Poles had become greatly mixed in many places. It was impossible to draw boundaries which would place all Poles on one side and all non-Poles on the other. Thus, no line could be wholly satisfactory.

The conferees tried to make the best

study the so-called Curzon Line—proposed by the British Lord Curzon—was suggested.

The Poles refused to accept the Curzon Line, and engaged in a brief but successful war with Russia in order to extend their boundaries farther to the east. The Soviet government, struggling for its own existence at the time, yielded to Poland and the eastern boundary of Poland was set by the Treaty of Riga in 1921.

Shortly after Germany attacked Poland in September, 1939, Russia

The Story of the Week



The Italian front is active again

The War Fronts

The present Allied offensive in Italy is seen as the opening act in the great military drama of 1944. The campaign in Italy is expected to be accompanied shortly by bigger and more decisive offensives from the west and from the east. The giant American and British armies based in Britain are poised for the assault of Hitler's fortress from that direction, and the Russian front is expected to come to life, with activities on the three fronts synchronized to force a decision as soon as possible.

Unexpected success has crowned the initial stages of the new Italian campaign. Truly a United Nations army, composed of units of Americans, British, French, Poles, Dominion and colonial forces, has hurled the Nazis back from their defense positions south of Rome. After months of stalemate, the Gustav Line was shattered. The Allies overran the town of Cassino and moved forward to the next defense line of the Germans, the Adolf Hitler Line. That defensive position has also been shattered and the Nazis have erected another line which, as we go to press, is being pierced by our forces. Large supplies of materials have been captured and the number of prisoners runs into the thousands.

Much of the bad news which came from central China (see last week's

issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER) has been wiped out by important Allied gains in the Far East. General MacArthur's forces took another step in their drive toward the Philippines when they landed on Dutch New Guinea at points 125 miles west of the recently seized base of Hollandia. The Allies have now reached the half-way mark in their return trip to the Philippines.

On the Asiatic mainland similar progress has been made. Chinese-American forces under General Stilwell seized an important airfield in the outskirts of Myitkyina, principal Japanese base in northern Burma. Fighting has been taking place in the town of Myitkyina itself and its fall is expected momentarily. The brilliant victories in northern Burma are the result of the skill of Merrill's Marauders, composed of veterans of Guadalcanal and other tough campaigns in the Pacific.

At the same time, the Chinese opened their first major offensive in seven years of war when they crossed the Salween River. The objective of this campaign is to join forces with the Allied units operating in Burma and to open a supply route into China proper. If the present drives in Burma succeed, the way will be opened to join the Ledo and the Burma Roads and thus open the desperately needed supply route to China.

an international organization which would give political recognition to all the United Nations now, and which after the war would recognize the full sovereignty of every independent nation of the world, no matter how small, and its inalienable right to participate in making political decisions.

Welles warns that if we delay the creation of a true international organization much longer it may be too late. The people of this country and the other great powers will have become disillusioned and will in desperation fall back upon military alliances and imperialism. This can only lead to "a renewal under one guise or another of the reign of brute force," says Welles, which will inevitably lead to the Third World War.

Yugoslav Cabinet Shift

Striving for unity in this country before the Allies strike against Germany in the east and west, Yugoslavia's monarch-in-exile, King Peter, dismissed his entire cabinet and authorized Dr. Ivan Subasic, former governor of Croatia, the task of forming a new coalition cabinet.

Disunity has centered around General Mihailovich, who held the position of Minister of War in the cabinet recently dissolved. Marshal Tito, head of the Yugoslav Army of Liberation, has refused to support Mihailovich on the ground that he has collaborated with the Nazis. With Mihailovich out of the cabinet, the way may be open for the reconciliation of King Peter and Tito. Heretofore Tito has not recognized Peter's exiled government.

Late last month Tito stated in an interview that he was seeking Allied recognition of his Liberation forces. He asked that warships and merchant vessels seized by the Italians and later retaken by the Allies be turned over to him and that the gold of the Yugoslav National Bank be made available to his Committee of National Liberation. It remains to be seen whether he will press these demands for recognition or whether he will support the new cabinet of King Peter.

Poll Tax Amendment

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be abridged by the United States or by any State by reason of failure to pay a poll tax."

This is the wording of a newly pro-

posed constitutional amendment sponsored in the Senate by virtually all the Republican members of that body. It is the answer to those who say that the recently shelved Marcantonio poll tax bill is unconstitutional because the Constitution as it now stands leaves to the states the right to set voting requirements. If passed by two-thirds of both houses of Congress it would require approval by three-fourths of the states before becoming valid.

The shelving of the Marcantonio bill was accomplished a few days ago by the threat of an unlimited filibuster on the part of southern poll tax senators—just as the Geyer anti-poll tax bill was similarly killed in 1942. The Senate attempted a vote on cloture, which, if approved by two-thirds of the Senators, would have severely limited debate on the Marcantonio bill and thus prevented a filibuster. But the Senate is extremely loath to invoke cloture, and when the two-thirds vote failed the anti-poll tax bill was dropped to avoid needless and prolonged debate during a critical war period.

Utilities Record

One shortage problem which has not interfered with the war effort is that of electric power. The American power and light industry has had little difficulty in meeting all demands of war production and civilian requirements as well, and it now boasts a reserve capacity of something like 25 per cent.

In the years since the war broke out in Europe, the total output of electricity by public utility plants in this country has increased by 25 per cent, for electricity is a prime requisite of any war machine. The manufacture of planes, ships, tanks, guns, and materials directly related to the war effort currently utilizes almost three-fourths of the nation's industrial power output. The greatest single user of such power is the electrometallurgical industry—manufacture of aluminum, magnesium, electric steel and alloys—which last year used some 35,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours in contrast to only 10,000,000,000 in 1940.

The fact that power capacity is high does not mean, however, that electricity should be used extravagantly. The Office of War Utilities warns: "It is essential to save the use of electricity wherever possible so as to reduce directly or indirectly the demands for

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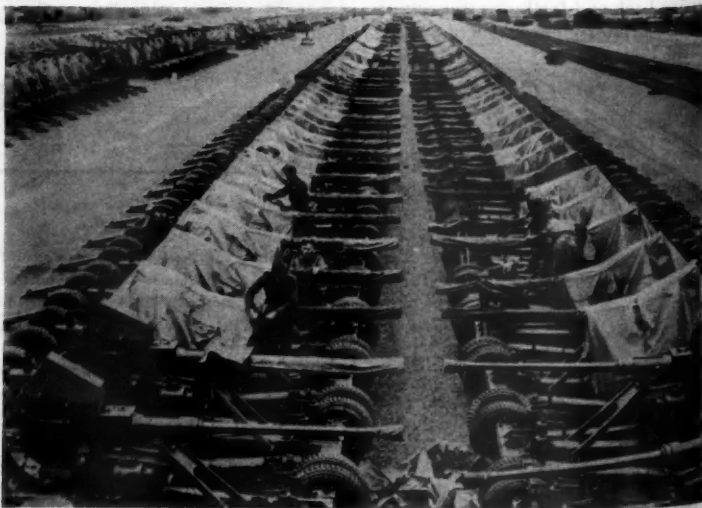
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Welles' Speech

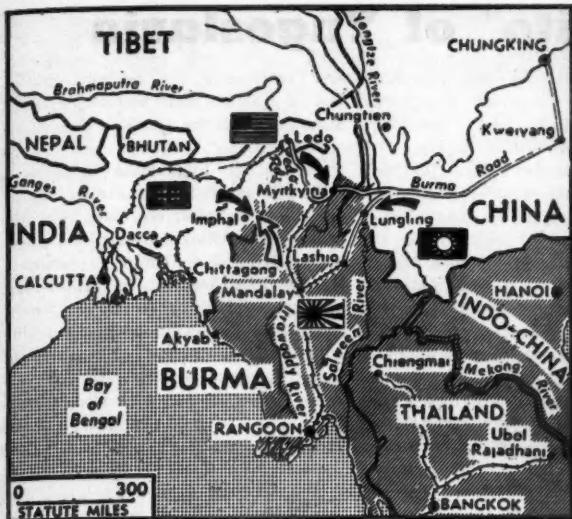
Since his retirement from public office a few months ago, Sumner Welles, former Undersecretary of State, has continued to study the problems of the postwar world and to urge the establishment of the kind of international organization he feels is necessary to permanent peace. His recent speech in New York on "The Shaping of the Future" is one of the most important pronouncements yet made on this important subject.

Welles freely concedes the necessity of close association of the Three or Four Great Powers both now and after the war, but he warns that an attempt by those great nations alone to settle the world's problems and maintain peace is doomed already. He points out that such a partnership would lead only to military alliances and imperialism.

What is needed, in Welles' view, is



BIG GUNS FOR THE INVASION. Long lines of 40 MM Bofors light antiaircraft guns on Mark II mountings are ready to be aimed at Nazi planes when the invasion starts



The Burma theater

RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH



Jungle fighters in Burma fording a river

ACME

materials, fuel, transportation, and manpower."

Labor Front

Factory foremen work in a "no man's land" between management and labor. As supervisors, they are identified with the management, and have a hand in the hiring and firing of workers. But in another sense, the foremen themselves are workers, with occasional grievances to settle with the management.

It was in the latter position that about 3,300 factory foremen in 13 major war production companies of the Michigan area conducted their short-lived but disruptive strike. They were demanding what they had so far

because of its effect on plane production.

Although the foremen are back at work and the affected factories are in production, the dispute remains to be settled.

Meanwhile, the Montgomery Ward case is continuing to command attention. Just as a congressional investigation of the original seizure was getting under way, the President ordered the Army to take over the Hummer Manufacturing Company, a war plant subsidiary of Montgomery Ward. The step was taken, after a 16-day halt on the production of plane parts, because the company had refused to comply with certain orders of the War Labor Board.

British Commonwealth Policy

When the prime ministers of the British Commonwealth of Nations ended their London conference on May 17 (see THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, May 15, page 1), they issued a joint declaration of policy.

There had been fears in some quarters that the prime ministers' conference might support a policy of strengthening the British Commonwealth and Empire as a "power bloc" to counterbalance the influence of Russia and the United States in the postwar world. Such fears were allayed by the London declaration, an important section of which stated:

We are unitedly resolved to continue, shoulder to shoulder with our allies, all needful exertion which will aid our fleets, armies, and air forces during the war, and therefore to make sure of an enduring peace. We trust and pray that victory, which will certainly be won, will carry with it a sense of hope and freedom for all the world.

It is our aim that, when the storm and passion of war have passed away, all countries now overrun by the enemy shall be free to decide for themselves their future form of democratic government. Mutual respect and honest conduct between nations is our chief desire. We are determined to work with all peace-loving peoples in order that tyranny and aggression shall be removed or, if need be, struck down wherever it raises its head. The people of the British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations willingly make their sacrifices to the common cause. We seek no advantages for ourselves at the cost of others. We desire the welfare and social advancement of all nations and that they may help each other to better and broader days.

We affirm that after the war a world organization to maintain peace and security should be set up and endowed with the necessary power and authority to prevent aggression and violence.

Traffic Safety Champion

An imposing five-year record of no traffic deaths has won for Aberdeen, South Dakota, the National Safety Council's Grand Award for 1943. In competition with 1,296 other cities, Aberdeen's 17,600 residents have

proved that accidents can be prevented, even in wartime.

The people of Aberdeen are safety conscious, for the Commissioner of Public Safety has a program which embraces them all. School teachers take their pupils to see the workings of the police and fire departments and show them safety films. Businessmen assist by making available parking space and distributing safety literature. The local press and radio carry safety messages.

The safety department has a variety of jobs the year round, with a few extras added during certain seasons. The traffic signal system is serviced regularly. Light bulbs and lenses are kept clean and clear. The traffic signs and pavement markings are reconditioned as the need arises.

Special features, designed for prevention, have been inaugurated at various seasons of the year. At the opening of the school year a pedestrian protection campaign is launched. In December a safety drive calls attention to the prevention of holiday accidents. Advice on walking and driving on snow and ice covered streets is offered as it is needed.

The police force has an important part in Aberdeen's safety program, for more than half of its personnel are engaged in traffic law enforcement, accident investigation, and safety promotion. The police force is augmented with 120 junior police, school-age boys who patrol school areas.

SMILES

"Is your sister expecting me tonight?"
"Yeah."
"How do you know?"
"She's gone out for the evening."

Game Warden: "Fishing?"
Boy (without license): "No—teaching worms how to swim."

"How's Smith in the high jump? Any good?"
"Naw, he can hardly clear his throat."

Daughter: "Jim wants to marry me, Dad."

Dad: "Hmmm. What's his income?"
Daughter: "That's a strange coincidence—he asked me that very same question about your income."

On a hot afternoon the tough sergeant had been drilling the awkward recruits until they were ready to drop. A captain passing by eyed the spectacle with evident displeasure, and singled out an especially clumsy private for questioning. "How long," he asked witheringly, "have you been in the Army?"

The recruit looked up and finally managed to stammer, "A-a-all day, sir."

Week in Congress

DURING THE WEEK ending May 20, Congress took the following action on important national problems:

Monday, May 15

Senate rejected by a vote of 35 to 41 the proposal to invoke the cloture rule on the Anti-Poll Tax bill debate. Took up various veterans' bills.

House debated the GI "Bill of Rights," which contains many kinds of benefits for service men and women. Passed emergency flood control bill which was made necessary by recent disasters.

Tuesday, May 16

Senate not in session. Read the GI "Bill of Rights" for amendments. Passed a number of bills on the private calendar.

Wednesday, May 17

Senate passed the 1945 appropriations for State, Justice, Commerce, and Agriculture Departments and called for a conference to settle differences in House and Senate versions of the bills.

House continued to consider amendments to the GI "Bill of Rights."

Thursday, May 18

Senate not in session. House passed the GI "Bill of Rights" without a dissenting vote.

Friday, May 19

Senate passed appropriations bill for legislative and judiciary branches of government.

House authorized Navy to make certain expenditures for ordnance production and for construction of additional landing craft.

Saturday, May 20

Senate passed bill simplifying income tax returns.

House not in session.

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SOLDIERS OF THE UNDERGROUND. Members of the French Maquis, one of the many underground organizations in France, anxiously await their orders for D-Day. The Maquis have sworn allegiance to General Charles de Gaulle and have raised the flag of the French Committee of National Liberation for the first time on the soil of metropolitan France.

failed to gain—recognition of their foremen's union.

Two of the 13 plants were compelled to shut down for lack of supervision, and production in the others was seriously curtailed. The armed forces refused to accept some of the output on the grounds that its quality was endangered by the absence of supervision and inspection. In all, some 60,000 men were kept from working by the situation, and the working efficiency of another 60,000 was below par.

Before the strike was ended by an urgent appeal from the War Labor Board, it had cost the Army 250 Mustang fighter planes, according to General Henry H. Arnold. Undersecretary of War Robert Patterson called the strike the most serious of the war

"What happened when the boss caught you reading a book instead of doing your work?"
"Well, I lost my place."



SALO IN THE ROTARIAN

"It seems strange that this leak started right after you bought Junior that boat!"



Bicycling on Riverside Drive in New York City in the early 1900's

Little Known Facts Stressed

"The Way Our People Lived"

HISTORY books traditionally have concerned themselves with political campaigns, wars and battles, distinguished people, and "historical events." By the very nature of the subject these are the things which are most likely to be remembered and recorded, and they are the things which logically seem most important.

As a result of this preoccupation with important events and people, history books have failed to reflect adequately the life and thought of the common man. True, in more recent years there has been a tendency to stress social and cultural history and play down military history, but in the majority of cases, such social and cultural history has been ancillary to the basic framework of political events and celebrated personalities.

In view of this fact it is most refreshing to get hold of a history which is written solely in terms of the common man. Such a book is *The Way Our People Lived: An Intimate American History*, by W. E. Woodward (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$3.95, 402 pages). Here in 11 chapters are vivid, human glimpses of 11 separate periods during 300 years of American history—written in fascinating story form. Here are pictures of how Americans lived and worked, what they ate and wore and said and thought. Here are their foibles and fashions and dreams—which somehow seldom get in the usual history books.

A newspaper and advertising man turned author, Woodward began his literary career at the age of 46 with the novel *Bunk*, which added the word "debunk" to the American language. This was followed by two biographies—of Washington and Grant—and finally in 1936 by the *New American History*, one of the most popular histories written for the general public in the last half century. It is as a supplement to this earlier book that Woodward has written *The Way Our People Lived*.

"I thought I knew a lot about history," says Woodward, "and I did know a lot, as a matter of fact, but the writing of this book was a liberal education to me. I learned history from a new angle. For instance, I was rather astonished to learn that it was not possible to buy a pair of ready-made shoes until about 1820. And that even for many years after that there were no right or left shoes; any shoe would fit either foot, and the shoes were not shown to the customer in boxes containing pairs, but in large crates which held as many as two hundred shoes.

In buying shoes you simply tried on one after another until you found two you liked."

We have become so accustomed to the simple conveniences of daily living that we find it difficult to realize that they have not always existed in modern times. Of course, everyone knows that radios and airplanes and automobiles are new—but how about street lights? Actually the first town to introduce public street lighting was Philadelphia—in 1752. Before that time streets were lighted by lamps placed in the windows of every seventh house.

Or how about pins and nails? Pins were prohibitively expensive before a machine to make them was invented in 1832, and iron nails similarly were luxuries until 1796. In Puritan times iron nails were so valuable that they were used as currency. Envelopes for letters did not come into use until 1839. Milk was not sold in glass bottles until 1878. Hardly more than a hundred years ago New York City had no local transportation facilities whatever. The water supply was piped in hollow logs, and the hose for fire engines was made of leather.

On a pleasant and rambling thread of fiction Woodward has strung scores of startling and little known facts like these. As pointed out earlier, they were built around specific periods in our history. Thus we learn that in 1652, at the time of Woodward's fictitious Boston cabinet maker, William Doolittle, fashions in clothes changed so slowly that a woman might wear the same dress for the greater part of her life. Farming during this period—and, in fact, until the end of the seventeenth century—was no further along than it had been in the seventh century. Eating was accomplished largely with the hands and knives; forks were owned and used by the rich only on special occasions. Even the best people ate peas with their knives, smearing honey on the tip of the knife to keep the peas from rolling off. People got along without paint and matches, drank out of leather cups, wore wooden buttons. They seldom bathed, for water was considered dangerous to the body. These are but a few of the highlights.

This is *The Way Our People Lived*. Despite its fictional background its facts are authentic, and it is a worthwhile addition to the standard histories. We heartily recommend this book, both for entertaining reading and as an addition to your permanent library.

"Tito" of Yugoslavia

RECENTLY Josip Broz, "Marshal Tito" of the Yugoslav Army of National Liberation, took time out from military duties to write his own version of his country's fight to free itself of the Nazi invader. As the unconquerable people of Yugoslavia prepare to enter their fourth year of Nazi domination and likewise their fourth year of resistance against the Germans, Tito summed up the struggle to date.

He recalls the early days of opposition to the Nazis which began in March 1941, when Yugoslavia's Prince Paul signed the "tripartite pact" promising his country's adherence to the Axis. Demonstrations against the government led to the overthrow of Prince Paul and the establishment of a new government. This step was not sufficient, however, to stave off German conquest, which was completed in 10 days.

While organized resistance was but short-lived, guerrilla bands have made their strength felt from the first day of the German invasion to the present. Groups sprang up spontaneously in widely scattered areas, but in time these became integrated into the well-organized Army of National Liberation which ties down an estimated 300,000 enemy troops. The picture today is described by Marshal Tito:

Today we have an army 300,000 strong, equipped with armaments captured from the enemy. With Allied aid in armaments we can build up an army of 700,000 to 800,000 men. Working with our Allies this army will deliver the final blows to the German and Fascist invaders.

As Marshal of Yugoslavia and as Supreme Commander of the National Liberation Army, Josip Broz is largely responsible for the unity and effectiveness of the military forces fighting to free Yugoslavia. It was no easy job to secure the working cooperation of the three major racial groups which make up Yugoslavia and which have, since the creation of the nation by the Treaty of Versailles, so bitterly opposed one another in government. With the appeal of a statesman, he called on his fellow countrymen to forget differences and to concentrate on the single ideal of national liberation. His program found favor with freedom-loving Yugoslavs and into Tito's ranks came Communists, non-Communist peasants, intellectuals, army officers, stray soldiers, doctors, and clergymen. Today his forces consist of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, with 58 per cent of them Serbs.

Tito's organization has not always received the recognition which it enjoys today. Early in the days of Yugo-

slav resistance the acclaim of the United Nations went to Colonel Draža Mihailovich as the symbol of a people's opposition to tyranny. But when stories from Yugoslavia brought to light the conflicting military philosophies of Mihailovich and Tito, the favor of the Allies shifted to Tito, with his program of continual harassing of the Nazis, rather than the Mihailovich plan of building up secret reserves to be thrown in action when liberating Allied armies invade. The story of the differences between the two factions is one colored with many prejudices, and the true account of it will probably remain clouded until after the war.

A quiet man of medium build, Tito was born in 1890 of poverty-stricken parents. He left his father's patch of Croatian land when he was young to go to work in the city. The coming of the First World War found him in the Austro-Hungarian army. After two years' service he was captured by the Russians.

In 1917 he joined the Bolsheviks and fought in the Russian civil war. Seven years later he returned to his homeland to become a leader in the metal workers union. It was then that he adopted the underground name of Tito. Several years later he was jailed and tortured as a political prisoner. Upon his release he left Yugoslavia and lived for some time in Paris and other European cities. Information about these years of exile is scanty, but it is known that when he returned to his country it was with the idea of setting up some kind of guerrilla organization to combat a German invasion.

Tito's present headquarters are in Yajtse, seat of an ancient fortress and located in a mountain-surrounded valley of northwestern Bosnia. Although it is frequently bombed by the Nazis, it is practically impenetrable by land. From here Tito not only directs his military operations, he trains his men as well. With the establishment of a military academy, Yajtse has become the West Point of free Yugoslavia.

Marshal Tito wears an officer's uniform but no insignia to denote his rank. His only weapon is a heavy German revolver, which he captured in battle. He is frequently on the move, visiting companies in many sectors and inspecting captured goods. He has been several times in front-line action and has been wounded once.

He engages in lengthy conversations with his men and officers and encourages them to talk over their problems. Every week each company has a meeting at which questions of food, clothing, armament, and medicine are discussed. It is at these meetings that officers and men criticize each other's behavior in action.

The influence of Marshal Tito was demonstrated a few days ago when steps were taken to reorganize the Yugoslav government-in-exile to conform to the wishes of Tito and his followers. Heretofore Mihailovich has been minister of war in that cabinet and the presence of Tito's foe in a high official position has been a source of great irritation to the National Liberation Army. It is understood that Mihailovich will be removed from his cabinet post and that the entire government-in-exile will be reorganized in such a way as to insure the support of Tito and his followers. The restoration of harmony among the conflicting Yugoslav groups is essential to effective military operations in the critical days ahead.



Josip Broz—"Tito" of Yugoslavia



LOOKING TO THE FUTURE. Five congressmen from the Northwest study a map showing sites for four dams to increase navigational facilities of the Columbia and Snake Rivers. (Left to right): Compton I. White (Dem., Idaho); James F. O'Connor (Dem., Montana); Lowell Stockman (Rep., Oregon); and Hal Holmes (Rep., Washington). Kneeling is Mike Mansfield (Dem., Montana).

The West Considers Its Future

(Concluded from page 1)

industries. It also possesses the coal and iron which are so located that they can be brought together easily for the making of steel. The heavy industries that make machinery, railroad equipment, girders and similar products are quite naturally operating within easy reach of the steel mills.

Nevertheless, the West sees the time coming when it will no longer be entirely dependent on the industrial East for manufactured products. Wartime experience—the war has brought a great boom to the West with large and important industries—has paved the way for a change.

Some steel, for example, is being produced in Utah and California. Magnesium is coming from Nevada and California. The power of Grand Coulee and Bonneville Dams is turning out important quantities of aluminum. Western timber is yielding not only enormous piles of lumber, as always, but plastics and plywood as well. And by the end of 1944, it is reported that the Pacific Coast will be capable of producing 850,000 tons of rubber a year.

Suggested Products

Such are the leading raw materials with which the West could feed new industries. It is confident that it could produce a wide variety of manufactured articles—radios and other electrical equipment, furniture, and prefabricated houses, to mention a few of the possibilities.

It is true, of course, that the West does not have the concentrations of population such as the East has, but in this respect it has made remarkable gains. To man war industries, more than 1,500,000 civilians have migrated to the West coast since 1939, giving the coast No. 1 ranking in the growth of total employment. The coast, moreover, was the only region in the United States to show a gain in civilian population between 1939 and early 1943.

Now that they are there, most of these people want to stay. Every poll taken among them tells the same story—from 50 to 98 per cent of them are

anxious to stay as permanent residents.

Added to its resources of raw materials and population, the West possesses an incomparable asset in its abundance of electric power. Grand Coulee Dam in Washington, Bonneville in Oregon, Shasta in California, and Boulder in Nevada and Arizona are its much-publicized Paul Bunyans of power, but these may be only a beginning. For there is no end to the power which can be realized by harnessing the rivers that tumble down the West's mountains.

Of all the West, the Pacific Coast is making the most ambitious plans. The war has dotted it with sprawling airplane plants which are building one-fourth of the nation's warplanes. From the shipways, cranes, and derricks which make up the shipyards along the coast are coming one-third of the nation's ships.

It will not be easy, of course, to convert these and the many smaller war industries to peacetime production. For one thing, there is a limit to the number of airplanes and ships which the United States, and the world, can absorb after the war. Instead, many of the factories will have to take up the manufacture of products with which they are unfamiliar.

Whereas Eastern industries can go back to making their former specialties, most of the Western industries will be starting from scratch. Not only will they be lacking in experience, but they will have to develop channels of distribution to the markets such as Eastern industries already possess.

Despite these and other problems which will arise, the West continues its planning. For it dares not face the alternative of ghost towns, factories and shipyards left to crumble, and unemployment for its population.

Whatever gains may be made by an industrialized West, perhaps even more substantial gains are possible through greater use of the West's land and water. Many great areas can be cultivated as quickly as water is made available to them.

The story of California's rich Cen-

tral Valley, which was once a desert, illustrates what can be done. In the heart of California, it embraces 18,000 square miles of territory, and its good soil supports an immediate population of more than 1,250,000. It produces fabulous crops of raisins, grapes, peaches, figs, apricots, nuts, plums, olives, oranges, melons, alfalfa, cotton, grain, asparagus, and potatoes. These and other valley resources keep in operation the major industries—the canneries, processing plants, and sugar refineries—of 83 towns and cities.

All this was first made possible by enterprising pioneers who regulated the spring floods of rivers and made the water available for more even distribution.

Improvements Made

Despite this showing, the irrigation system has had to be perfected in recent years. Too much water from the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers was going to waste, and there were other imperfections in the existing system.

The necessary improvements include the Shasta Dam, which stands as the second largest concrete dam in the

world, and Friant Dam, the fourth largest. Each backs up huge reservoirs of water which can be used when and where needed without waste. About 350 miles of main canals and many smaller structures are likewise a part of the system, which remains to be completed.

There is, however, a serious controversy connected with the valley's irrigation. Inasmuch as the same dispute may arise on similar developments in the future, it is worth careful study. The law under which the irrigation system was built provides that it shall furnish water only to farms of 160 acres or smaller. No one landholder, in other words, can obtain water if he owns more than 160 acres in the valley.

It so happens that there are some extremely large farms in the valley. Under the present law, they must either be broken up and sold or else denied water from the irrigation system. The argument is over whether this should be carried out or whether the law should be changed to permit the large farms to remain intact and to obtain water.

Those in favor of retaining the law argue that the irrigation was largely financed by the federal government and the state of California. That being the case, it would be much better to benefit a large number of farm families, living on medium-sized farms, than to add to the wealth of a few who are already powerful.

Many small farms, it is pointed out, would support a larger population, and in the long run they would make for a much more prosperous valley.

In favor of the continued existence of the large landholdings, it is said that they should not be penalized merely because they are large. They were acquired long before the present irrigation improvements were made, and their owners challenge the fairness of employing laws and public funds to put them out of business.

These, in brief, are the two sides of the argument. A final decision remains to be made, and it will not be reached without a great deal more contention.

But it is important that some kind of solution be made. For this same question is almost bound to arise with each new project for irrigation and water-control in the West. Once it is settled, great possibilities are foreseen for the development of other areas throughout the agricultural West.

Man's control over water can thus open the West to its greatest destiny—greater even than the gains which may be secured through industrial expansion.



The West Coast is experiencing an industrial boom as a result of the war. Can it maintain its position after the war? Here is an oil plant in California.

Points of View

What Authors and Editors Are Saying

(The ideas expressed in these columns should not be taken to represent the views of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.)

Mme. Chiang's Plea

In Chungking, China, Mme. Chiang Kai-shek listened to her radio and heard President Robert Sibley of the University of California tell a Chicago audience that she, the "first lady" of the Chinese Republic, had been chosen by the American Alumni Council to receive the Council's first annual award of merit "to an outstanding graduate of an American college or university."

A moment later, Mme. Chiang spoke



Mme. Chiang Kai-shek

into a microphone in Chungking. The Chicago audience, and millions of other Americans at their radios, heard the distinguished Wellesley alumna accept the award in an eloquent plea for closer international cooperation:

Many of us now agree that it is imperative that a world organization be established before the war ends. If we leave this task until after the war flags are furled we are likely to make the mistakes which were made before. On every side we hear this question propounded: After the war should we re-educate the enemy? Of even more importance, nevertheless, is this cognate question: Should we not first re-educate ourselves?

If we are to be successful we must jettison many prejudices which we have been accustomed to accept as settled beliefs. A new concept altogether must come. The great nations must be used for the benefit of all. Power, properly used, like mercy itself, is as blessed to the giver as to the receiver.

Lend-Lease and the Future

During the First World War, our European allies borrowed billions of dollars from the United States. Most of the money has not been repaid and never will be. During the 1920's and the 1930's the "war debts question" was a principal provocation of friction and misunderstanding between the United States and the European countries. The situation was aggravated by American politicians who sought popular support in this country by condemning our former allies as "faithless debtors."

Wisdom derived from our earlier unhappy experience guided our government in this war to base our shipments of supplies to other United Nations on the principle of lend-lease rather than on the practice of loaning money. The new arrangements will facilitate postwar international harmony, but there is still the danger that demagogues will attempt to gain political advantage by telling the American people that other nations must be compelled to pay us for American-made war materials which they used to help defeat our common enemy. Antici-

pating this danger, the Des Moines Register recently published an editorial entitled, "Beware Lend-Lease Demagoguery!" which warned:

There are enormous potentialities for good or evil in our liquidation of lend-lease accounts after this war, depending upon whether we approach the problem with statesmanship or shortsightedness.

It would be worse than stupid for us to demand "repayment" for materials consumed in what was a common purpose. Let us forget that which was destroyed in achieving victory. Who can evaluate what the French have given? Who can evaluate in dollars the Russian lives, or the starved Chinese, or the obliterated British towns against our factory production?

To try to find a "dollar balance" would only stir up anger to frustrate the peace again.

The great danger obviously is that demagogues will once more [as after the First World War] seek to climb to power on tawdry, deceptive slogans demanding "repayment" of something that doesn't exist and that was spent in our own national defense.

Postwar Employment

When delegates from 40 countries recently met in Philadelphia for the twenty-sixth annual conference of the International Labor Office, one of the topics at the forefront of the discussions was the problem of achieving the fullest possible employment after the war in all the countries of the world. Four of the delegates aired their views on this problem on the May 7 broadcast of the *University of Chicago Round Table*. The trend of their thinking is indicated in the following quotations from that broadcast:

GEORGE TOMLINSON (Great Britain): In the restarting of industry, when we are moving over from a war economy to a peace economy, the benefit of the whole will have to be considered first, and either private enterprise or private individuals will have to give way to the common well-being, just as they did during the war.

CARTER GOODRICH (United States): I am sure that the United States will take the road of democratic individualism, and certainly most enterprise here will continue to be private. But I do not think that we can ever go back to the state of government irresponsibility of 1929. Thus, we must accept the obligation as a nation to see to it that full employment is provided.

ALEJANDRO CARRILLO (Mexico): In Mexico and in all Latin America, as a matter of fact, we do not speak of finding new jobs or mobilizing the working people from one place to the other, because we are not going to have that problem once the war is over. However, our problem of unemployment is a very difficult one. As a matter of fact, we have always lived in such a situation. Our nations are now under the feudal structure. We do not have industry developed in the large sense of the word. What we really need is to modernize our nations. . . . We want our countries to become industrialized.

JAN MASARYK (Czechoslovakia): What the people of my part of the world need



How can postwar employment be maintained?

The Army Changes Men

Leo Cherne knows G.I. Joe. He also knows a great deal more than most of the rest of us know about the fields of psychology and economics. Combining his background of knowledge with an intensive two-year study of young Americans in uniform, Dr. Cherne has written a book, *For the Rest of Your Life*, soon to be published by Doubleday, Doran & Company. A section of the book appears in the May 27 issue of *Collier's*, from which the following extracts are taken.

New rivulets of thought are becoming part of the nation's stream of consciousness, and the sharpest change in the American way of thinking will come from the more than twelve million men whose ways of living have been abruptly and profoundly transformed. The monotonous continuity of the same uniform, the fact of the uniform itself, the bark

of the sergeant, the authority of a shavetail, the competition for a marksmanship medal—these do things to a young mind. They'd do things to anybody's mind. So would the apparently endless training and waiting and orders and canceled leaves and cleanups and inspection.

The doughboy of World War II will be a new man when he comes back to Main Street, Forty-second Street, the poolroom, the cow pasture. He'll be living with you for a long time. You'll hear a lot about him, and not a little of it from himself. . . .

The American soldier's participation in this war, no matter how generously his motives are appraised, flows mainly from one fact: It was compelled. Educated to the ideals of peace, the great majority considered war a dirty job, and, in common with the civilian, the soldier has little taste for it, little hope from it. G.I. Joe's first wish is to get out, get home, get back. His longing is not for the things he didn't have, but for the things he hasn't got—the girl friend, the jalopy, the hot dogs, the girl friend, the boys on the corner, sleeping late,

Sunday dinner, the girl friend. . . .

Important studies have been made of the emotional, intellectual, and spiritual transition through which G.I. Joe passes from his induction to his discharge. He went in without any enthusiasm. He may even have tried to talk his draft board into a deferment. He griped when he got in and he's been griping ever since. But no matter how reluctantly he took his oath, he had a certain amount of faith in the purposefulness of the

job—if only to justify the years he will be devoting to it.

As for you, the civilian, face the fact that as the war progresses, the boys in uniform will like you less and less. Their envy and resentment—and sometimes even contempt—for you will carry well beyond the armistice. How commensurate is your sacrifice? Why don't you live the same kind of existence?



G.I. Joe

But the more profound influences on the future are the less frequently identified differences between the soldier and his civilian counterpart. Suffering discomfort, the soldier resents the fact that life at home has continued in large part to be what it always has been. . . .

After the war you will find the serviceman frequently calling for more authoritative leadership. At the same time you will find him occasionally intolerant and contemptuous of authority. He wants to come home. When he finally does come home he'll find that everyone walks too slow. . . .

If the desire homeward will be the strongest social pressure, the hope jobward will be the next strongest force. . . . [The serviceman] has already heard the endless misgivings about the ability of the swollen war economy to remain distended under the more polite pressures of peace. Not least of all is his memory of the years since the first "normalcy." The acrid recollection of bread lines and work lines will not have been dispelled by the years of war. . . .

is general security. We have been living in danger for years. We, the little people, for centuries, did not know from which way we were going to be attacked. We are terribly fed up with this, and we pray to God that when the war is over there will not be a danger that the Germans or anybody else will come and pounce upon us, whether it is done as a matter of balance of power or as a matter of spheres of influence. We want to be left alone; we want to work and to produce and to sell.

MR. GOODRICH: One thing on which the delegates from all forty countries at the conference have been most unanimous is the realization that employment is an international problem—that if we have great unemployment in the United States, if we have a shutdown in George Tomlinson's Lancashire, if we have mines shut down in North America, then Australians and New Zealanders cannot sell their work. Otherwise, when there is great unemployment abroad, our factories shut down in Detroit and our cotton planters cannot sell their cotton.

Anglo-American Cooperation

Close military collaboration among the United States, the United Kingdom, and the dominions of the British Commonwealth has been one of the outstanding achievements of the war. Continuance of this collaboration into the postwar period is vital to the pres-

ervation of world peace, says F. R. Scott, a Canadian, in a new pamphlet of the Institute of Pacific Relations entitled, *Cooperation for What?*

Postwar peace will require the cooperation of all the nations of the world, and Anglo-American cooperation is only one element in the total picture. But it is an element of extreme importance with unique problems that arise from the traditions, the geography, and the tremendous power of the English-speaking nations.

Professor Scott warns that power alone is not a sufficient justification for cooperation. He begins a section headed "Postwar Pitfalls to be Avoided" with this paragraph:

We must not assume, however, that Anglo-American cooperation is a good thing in itself, irrespective of the purposes for which it is employed. If Britain and America should form an alliance simply to increase their own wealth and power at the expense of the rest of the world, or to preserve their markets and investments against outside competition, or to maintain the domination of the white race, such a combination would arouse suspicion and antagonism in other countries which would endanger world peace. In other words, the quality of cooperation is as important as its quantity.

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